

l. 32 f. 23

A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation:

Composed by a French Gentleman a-
gainst those of the League in Fraunce,
which went about to perswade the king to
breake his alliance with England, and
to confirme it with Spaine.

By occasion whereof, the nature of both Nations is
liuely decyphered.

Faithfully translated, out of French, by R. A.



LONDON
Printed by Iohn Wolfe.

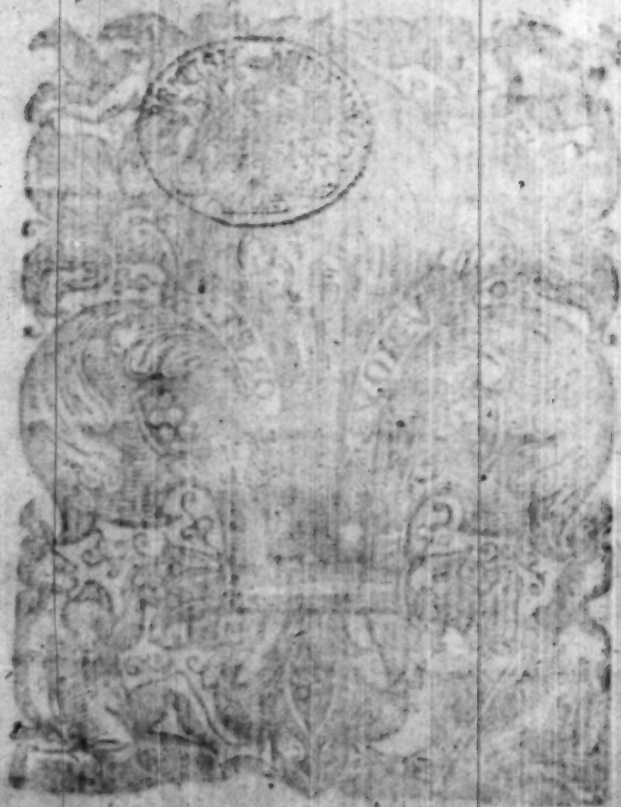
1589.

A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nations

Composed by a French Gentleman a
gainst those of the League in France,
which went about to persuade the king to
break in alliance with England, and
to support the war, &c.

The occasion sheweth the nature of both Nations
highly described.

Translated out of French by R. A.



LONDON
Printed by John Wolfe.

1682

To the Right worshipfull, worthie, and
vertuous Gentleman, Sir William Hatton
Knight, all happinesse.

His comparison of *England* with
Spaine, framed (as it should seem)
by some learned French gentlemā
experienced in the estate of both
Countries, but iealous (as he saith)
of the honor of his owne; and (as
appeareth) especially desirous of the prosperitie, and
preseruatiō thereof; may serue vnto vs for a per-
fect patterne, and a liuely example howe farre the
loue of truth is to be preferd aboue al other respects:
yea euen aboue the dutie due vnto our Countrey,
which ought notwithstanding to be in greater e-
stimation amongst vs, then any reuerent respect
of Parentes; or affection towards friendes, kins-
folkes, or allies; or whatsoeuer else we holde dee-
rest vnto vs. Which loue of truth in this author see-
meth to haue beene ioyned with so zealous a care
of the wel-fare of his Countrey, that like a skilfull
& wise Chirurgian, he choseth rather to rip vp old
sores, which peraduenture may seeme to be healed
outwardly; then to drawe ouer them faire scars, suf-
fering them to rankle and fester inwardly. For euen
as a good Phisician carefull to cure his patients ma-
ladie, and desirous of his health & recouerie, doth

not minister pleasant potions, if they be vnprofitable to his purpose; but rather holosome restauratiues, though peraduenture somewhat yrkesome: So the author of this treatise, especially carefull and desirous of the good and flourishing estate of his troubled and afflicted Countrey, (which he learnedly prooueth to consist not wholly, though chiefly, in her selfe: but to depend much on her alliance, with such of her neighbour Nations, as may most aduantage or endamage her) to effect his perswasion for her benefite and preservation, bringeth such proofes as (being but such as their owne Histories afford) may seeme partiall prayses of our Countrey, and purposed disgraces of his owne. Which roundnesse, and integritie of his made me at the request of some friendes, that vnderstood not well the French to translate it into English: which I vndertooke so much the rather, because it containeth the memorable, and valiant deedes of our renowned Ancestors, in that noble Realme of France; together with a rehearsall of the Spanish braueries: that the viewe of the one, and remembrance of the other, may stirre vp that courage which ought still to remaine in our English harts; that we do not degenerate from our noble Progenitors, but with an earnest emulation followe those happie footsteps of our famous forefathers: and

and learne to despise those magnificent *Don Diegos* and *Spanish Cavalieros*, whose doughtiest deedes are bragges and boastinges, and themselves (for the most part) shadowes without substance: whose affected *Monarchie*, is like to prooue a confounded *Anarchie*.

This translation (how simple soeuer) I offer to your courteous acceptaunce, not that any wayes you neede it, or that in ought it may pleasure you, or stand you in steede; who by your owne industrious indeuours, and continued trauailes in foraine Countries, haue so abundantly made you profite both in the French, and in other languages and knowledge: but because I willingly embrace whatsoeuer small oportunitie of expressing my gratefull affection towards you, for those manifold benefites, which, by your good meanes, and care had heretofore of my well dooing, I haue receiued.

Moreouer, your benefites, not onely extended towards me, but heaped so largely on my name and neere friends, by our Right honorable good L. and Patrone, may by good right challenge at our handes whatsoeuer any trauaile, industrie, and endeuour of ours may bring forth to the extolling of that honorable name, vnto the which amongst the rest, I desire to be accounted as one that is most

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

entirely and affectionately deuoted. Thus crauing
your courteous acceptation, with the continuance
of your fauourable affection; I desire the almighty,
(who hath hitherto so highly fauoured your
forwarde enterprises) continually to prosper your
vertuous proceedinges: both to the common be-
nefit, and your particular aduancement.

Yours, humbly affectionate,
Robert Ashley.



The Tranflator to the Reader.



Entle Reader, I was constrained by some friendes, to breake of a worke of some greater importance and larger discourse, to vndertake the translation of this brieft and pithie treatise. Ere I had fully finished it, there came into my hands another translation thereof, done by an Italian, and printed vnder the title of A Politike Discourse most excellent for the time present. On sight whereof though I had perfected mine, I purposed to suppress it, or at least to reserue it to my selfe, and such friendes as seemed to like it.

But some being not satisfied with this former translation, done by a stranger, and in some places (as they thought) estraunged from our English phrase, were desirous of my copie; which (being but one) could not well content so manie. By occasion whereof: I was willing to publish it, seeking their satisfaction. And the rather was I thereto induce, because I found the treatise to bee so well liked, that the former copies were for the most part already distracted.

The former title of a Politike Discourse, because it seemed too Generall, I haue chaunged into A comparison betweene England and Spaine, which seemes more neerely, & particularly to expresse the substance of the treatise.

To the Reader.

The paines which the other hath taken (howsoever some mislike) I doe not condemne; neither would I wish him to be discontented, that he being a straunger to both countries, cannot satisfie all, in both languages; for hee which is borne in the one, and brought vp in both, is not able to performe it. But though he misse of his marke, yet thinke well of his endeuors: and where I want of perfection, there I craue the like construction.

Some errors in printing haue escaped vs: but such as the discrete Reader may correct with iudgement,

A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation.



*S*ylla (a Romane Captaine) going about to induce *Bocchus* to that marchandice which he practised of *Iugurth*, grounds his perswasion chiefly on this maxime: *That neuer man had friends enough.* A thing which common and ordinarie experience hath made vs so

Salustius in
Iugurtha.

palpably to feele, and to see so euidently, that whosoever should gainsay or impugne this sentence, should shew him selfe voide of iudgement, and of common sence. And therefore it is that in our French tongue the comon proverb saies (that who so hath a good neighbour, hath a good morrow.) thereby giuing vs to vnderstand, that he which maintaines himselfe in good estate with his neighbours, hath taken the best course that might be for his particular affayres.

For as there can be no greater corsie to a man, than to see himselfe pinched by those of whom he expect comfort and ease in aduersitie: so neither can there be any greater contentment, than to see himselfe so comforted and cherished of his neighbours that they are vnto him so many witnesses of his good behauiour amongst them. Which being well weighed of such learned men as by their writings haue traced out vnto vs the way to vertue, they haue made so high account of the regarde belonging to good neighbours, that for certaine respects they haue preferd it before the duetie due to kinsfolke and allies. That worthie and wise captaine *Themistocles*, did once declare that he had well comprehended this conclusion: for intending to sell an heritage of his as deare as he might, he caused him that cryed it, to say & proclaime aloud (to the end to enhaunce the price therof) that it was situated and stood amongst good neighbours. Now if in priuate matters the respect of neighbourhood be so

Hesiodus in
his booke
of workes
and daies,

Cicero 1.
offic.

much to be had in recommendation amongst vs, how much more I pray you, in managing & guiding of an estate. What man is there so ignorant, in the affaires of the world, which knoweth not that the neighbourhood of the *Bulgarians*, occasioning the *Turkes* entry and descent into *Greece*, opened the way vnto them to make themselves masters of whatsoeuer they hold at this day in Europe?

The like may be sayd in respect of *Italy*: for the affaires of the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Geneuois* and *Neapolitans*, haue bin troubled, disturbed and disordered onely by the malice of a neighbour of theirs, euen *Lewes Sforce*, vsurper of the estate of *Milaine*: who to appease his particular passions made no conscience of disturbing the comon quiet which *Italy* had so long enioyed by the prudence of *Laurence de Medicis*: and exposing of his cuntry for a pray to the armes and violence of the French.

Contrariwise, if we looke neere into the estate of thinges past, we shall finde that many of the greatest houses in *Germanie* haue by the prudent policie and heartie affection of their neighbours ben preserued from the ouerthrow which was threatened by the common calamity. In the tyme of our fathers, euen the yeare 1504 *Phillip Conte Palatine* fel at variance with the Emperour *Maximilian*, & the issue thereof being no more prosperous, than the enterprise was righteous, he was banished the Empire & driue to great perplexitie. But *Frederike* duke of *Saxonie*, his neighbor a wise prince and of great vnderstanding did so mildly handle this matter that all the tempest was changed into a sweete and pleasant calme. Wherin notwithstanding, I am of opinion, that princes can not pretend any aduantage aboue Aristocratie and popular estates. Euery one knowes how that about fourtie yeares since *Charles* duke of *Sauoy* inuaded *Genena*, the possession and lordship whereof he had left vnto his successors, if the men of *Friburgh* fellow burgeses and allyes to those of

Genena

Geneus had not made him open his iawes, and let goe the pray which he had betweene his teeth: *inobuium in obuia*

I alleage these familiar examples, of fresh date, because I would not stay too long on those of ancient time, & namely of the cōmon wealch of *Athens*, whose practice was alwaies to relieue their distressed neighbours, being beaten or ouerthrown by any euill encounter. Wherof the reestablisht of *Thebes*, will serue for sufficient testimony, as long as mans life shall enioy that good happe to be lightned by the lampe of learning. These then are pertinent reasons to make vs vnderstande how carefully kingdoms & estates are to be vnderpropped by the friendship & faithfulness of their neighbors. But as this point is of great importance, so it requires a profound and mature consideration: for men which are not so cleere sighted nor practised in the affaires of this worlde, are so much the easier deceiued, as a vaine appearance can deck and set forth it selfe with a show of sound commoditie.

And to manifest this matter by example, and by deduction of a particular deed to make way to the decision of a generalitie, I will speake of that which more neerely concernes the ordering of our owne affaires. There is none be he neuer so voide of vnderstanding, but seeth & plainly perceiueth the poore and miserable estate, whereunto France loosing her ancient brightnesse is brought at this day by the crueltie and continuance of ciuill wars. Every one confesseth that shee wants a restorative to relieue hir of so pernicious a recidiue; notwithstanding, they agree not all in one concerning the confection & ingredients proper and sortable to such a restoration. True it is that they who by dealing in affaires and managing of matters, haue aduantaged themselves in experience, do come thus farre forth: that following the rule of good Phisicians, the maladic must be cured by his contrarie, and seeing that the sicknes of France comes only of vnqui-
etudes, that nothing can be more auailable to the restoring

A comparison betweene

of her former helth, then a good & assured quietnes: which aduice in my iudgement, is better grounded on reason, then cleerely discuffed. In confirmation whereof, when there is question of the quiet of our country, he were too much out of the way that would bound it within the circuit of France, not caring greatly in what estate she be with her neighbors, so that her inhabitants liue in peace one with an other, and the flame of ciuill wars be extinguished.

But although I readily confesse that the matter being once reduced into termes of calling into one of the two inconueniencies, there is no forraine way how difficult or dangerous soeuer it be, but we ought to vndertake, if thereby wee may warrant our countrie from a ciuill warre: yet so is it that the entire prosperitie of an estate is founded on the exemption of both inconueniencies: except we thinke our age to be specially priuiledged, that we may haue war without the necessarie appendances thereof which are miserie and pouertie. They then which endeouour to procure the good and quiet of France, ought to aime at this marke, that not onely all coales of ciuill combustion may be quenched, but also that she mainteine her selfe in good estate with her neighbors: & especially with those whose alliance is most commodious and most assured vnto her: which in my iudgement is a point no lesse necessary then difficult to decide, by reason of the diuersitie of their passions, who prefer their private profit before the common commoditie. So it is that if vnto the deduction of this doubt, we bring no other passion, but an ardent affection towards the truth & a zealous love of our countrie, we shall soone decide this difficultie. And I do not think when every thing is cast and accounted, whether you consider it in grosse, or else haue particular respect to the time present, that there is any of our neighbours, whose allyance can be so commodious and ayailable vnto vs as that of England. On the contrary I am of opinion, that it is which in state matters

matters would intreats of popular errors could not chosse
a more ample argument, then to shewe that such as ordi-
narily call the English auncient enemies to the estate and
crownie of France, thinking thereby to be accounted lear-
ned amongst the ignorant, discover themselves to be viter-
ly ignorant amongst the learned. And for so much as diuers
Courtiers, whom I haue heard discoursing on this argumēt
haue come to this conclusion, that they prefer the alliance
of *Spain* before any other whatsoever, hauing regard (as they
say) to the safetie and welfare of France, I purpose to dispute
this question, which in my iudgement hath no better founda-
tion, then a partialized affection, or else too little know-
ledge of the affaires of this world. I hope then by liuely rea-
sons to enforce, that the alliance of *Englande* is much more
expedient for vs, then that of *Spain*, & by the same means to
cleare the generall controuersie, and to make known that
there is no people in the world whose alliance is so commo-
dious & so necessarie vnto vs, as that of the English nation.
And to lay some foundation for my opinion, I say that whe
there is question of making alliance with some nation, there
is principall regard to be had of two things: th' one that those
whose allyance we preferre, haue more wayes & meanes to
helpe vs: th' other that they haue also more means to harne
vs, being once become our enemies. And I pray you what
people is there in the world, that hath iuster occasiō to loue
vs, then the English, which are allyed vnto vs in blood, con-
formable in manners, and brotherly giuen to the selfe same
vermions inclinations: which I meane not onely of those
whom at this day we call English, but also of the auncient Bri-
tains, the remainder of whom we see at this day in the coun-
trie of *Wales*, who though they agree in manners, fashions,
customs, and vsages: yet in language they differ from the
which inhabitants of *Englande*. *Cesar* who first amongst the
Romaine Capitaines discovered, and had knowledge of the
estate

Caesar lib. 1
de bello
Gallico.

Caesar lib. 1
de bello
Gallico.

Caesar lib. 1
de bello
Gallico.

A Comparison betweene

estate of this Ile teacheth vs that one part of the Brittaines, that is, they which dwell near the sea, haue taken their originall of the Belgae: the same author hath also left vs in writing, that in his time the king of the Switzers named *Dini-*
snacus, did rule also ouer great Britaine. And therefore is it no meruaile if the Britains (especially those that inhabite about Kent) were agreeable in humanitie and maner of liuing with the French. And indeede, if we iudge by that which we find in writing, nothing can be sayde more brotherly then these two Nations.

That I may not busie my selfe too much in listing out particulars, I will speake only of the *Druides*, which in auncient time bare rule in both Nations.

These *Druides* were Poets and Priests, as in auncient time was *Hesiodus* in Greece. Most certain it is that the first among the Grecians, who haue adorned their colitry with the knowledge of learning, comprehended all their doctrine in verses as *Homerus*, *Hesiodus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Linus*, *Empedocles*, *Parmenides*, and *Pythius*, of whom *Plutarch* maketh mention.

And therefore it is that *Plato* hath attributed so much vnto Poets, calling them fathers and fountaines of wisdom. These *Druides* were also Mathematicians & Philosophers, which make me, that I can not comprehend wherupon *Cicero* should thinke, when he compared the Britains with the Scythians, in respect of their ignorance of the Mathematickes.

If he relyed on the testimonie of his friend *Trebatius*, such one knowes him to be a witnes as may be gathered such out of the workes of *Cicero*, *Qui cum hominibus, quam uoluntatem contemplatur*. But it seemes that *Cicero*, a person otherwise of exquisite iudgement, would needes vntie the saying of *Thales* of *Miletus*, who being asked how farre truth was different from falsehood, answered, as farre as the eyes from the eares. So may we say in respect of that which we are now to inueat of, that we acknowledge eies in *Cicero*, and eares

Cesar lib. 2.
de bello
Gallico,

Plutarchus
in Theseo.
Plato in
Lyfida.
Cic. 2. de
natura de-
orum.

Cesar lib. 1.
de bello
Gallico.

cares in *Cicero*. But howsoever it be, either that the Britains receiued the knowledge of good letters from the Gaules, or the Gaules from the Britains, so it is, that the young men of France, for farther aduancement in their studies, transported into Britaine, to the *Druydes* of that countrie, of whom they learned the most hidden secrets of Philosophy & of the Mathematicall sciences. If we report our selues to what *Caesar* hath written hereof, the Philosophie and doctrine of the *Druydes* had his first beginning in great Britaine: which opinion I willingly embrace: howbeit, that rare and excellent personage, *Petrus Ramus* seemes in a worke of his to holde the contrarie. No manuell then, if so learned a Nation, and so well nurtured in good letters, hath beene endewed with so singular humanitie sortable to their knowledge, and such as whereof our ancient Gaules haue gathered the principall fruite. In so much that *Caesar* intending a descent into Britaine, alleageth for his purpose another pretence, but that the Gaules had beene succoured by the Brytains in all their quarrels which they had against the Romans. But if any one thinke that those people which since the time of *Caesar*, haue made themselves masters of *Gaule* and of *Britaine*, namely the English & the French, haue not had so firme friendship, but rather lesse occasions of louing one another, he deceiues himselfe as much as he that is ignorant, howe great is the force of that friendship which is founded on naturall alliance, the memorie whereof can not be blotted out, neyther by tract of time, nor distance of place. The Citizens of *Sais* in *Egypt* sayd that their Citie was founded by the Goddesse *Minerva*, as did also the *Athenians* of theirs: In contemplation of which alliance as *Plato* witnesseth, the Grecians in generall, and specially the *Athenians* were welcomed and well intertained at *Sais*. It resteth nowe to consider howe straightly the French are vnited to the English, and what demonstration of friendship they haue made from time to time the

Ramus de moribus veterum Gallorum,

Caesar lib. 4. de bello Gallico.

Plato in Timæo.

the one to the other. Neither is it sufficient to say that they haue had great and long warres together, euen in the memory of our great grandfathers, for by the same reason shold we banish amitie from amongst all Nations of the earth. By the same reason shold we conclude that there could be no friendship amongst the French themselves, who euen of late daies, haue furnished a stage in their own countrie with the bloudiest tragedie that euer was heard of. And touching the wars betweene the English and French, I hope hereafter to shoue in due place, that so farre off is it that this consideration should bring any alteration of friendship or amitie betweene them and vs, that contrariwise it ought to enforce at our handes some increase of good will in their behalfe. For God hauing giuen them so great aduantages ouer vs, as euerie knoweth, it is hard to say whether this noble nation haue shouen themselves more valiant in fight, then mild & gentle after the victorie. To lesse purpose yet serue those vnseemely speeches, which may be heard in the streetes as well of *France* as *England*, as among the rest these retines, *Cullion*, and *Frenchdogge*, which is the rethoricke of Pedlers, Tinkers, Coblers, Rogues and such kind of people, not the language of honest and ciuill persons, such as we purpose to intreate of in this discourse: laying aside then al such baggage and tromperie, let vs speake of the naturall amitie which is betweene these two Nations.

In the time of the Emperors *Martian* & *Valentinian*, about the yeare of Christ, 449. *Witigern* king of great Britaine, desirous to repulse the Picts and Scots, called to his ayde the Angles or English, who dwelt then betweene the *Vries* and *Saxons*: And indeede the Welchmen at this day call the Englishmen *Saffes*, as who would say, *Saxons*: which hath bene ensured me of some learned men of that countrie. It resulteth then of this discourse that the English are come out of Germanie, as the French are also according to our

Histories.

Histories. And howbeit that in respect of the French Nation, I durst not affirme that they are descended of the Saxons: yet so it is that the house of our kinges, which at this day swayes the scepter in France, drawes his stocke from thence, as is best knowne to them who are best scene in Histories. For *Windekind* a Saxon of the line of that great *Windekinde* subdued by *Charlemayne*, came into France to succour *Charles* the balde, beeing then much molested by the *Normans*. This young *Windekind* had a sonne called *Robert*, who so fortunately followed the footsteps of his father, that *Charles* the bald made him generall of the armie which he sent against the *Normans*: who at that time foraged the countrie of France. This *Robert* was slaine in battell, leaving a sonne called *Otho*, who by consent of the Emperor *Arnold*, had the gouvernement of France, during the minoritie of *Charles* the simple. Whence he got him not so much reputation, as in that hee was father to *Hugh* the great, Earle of *Paris*. But *Hugh Capet* sonne of this *Hugh* the great, exceeded in glorie and splendor all the forenamed, as well in that he was chiefe of the absolute estate of France, as in that he left a Royall posteritie behinde him, which swayes the scepter diuided into two houses, namely *Valoys* and *Bourbon*.

So may we conclude, that if the French and English may not be called by the terme of *Charondas* *ὁμόστροφος*, that is, liuing together, or according to *Epimenides* *ὁμόστροφος*, that is, partakers of the same smoke, or as they say, brought vp together at board and at bed, yet may they by good right be termed *ὁμόφυλοι*, that is, descending from the selfe same extraction.

And although this alliance be of it selfe sufficiently cleared by the Historiographers, yet is it better confirmed by the conformitie of maners of these two Nations, and the good comportmentes of the one towardes the other. The Englishman as also the French is generous, and by consequent as *Aristotle* teacheth farre from dissimulation, hating or

Arist. lib. 1.
cap. 1. polit.

Arist. Ethic.
lib. 4. cap. 3

louing openly, rather led by truth then by opinion, louing the effect better then the appearance, free in speech, louing his libertie, and easily forgetting iniuries: moreouer, he is liberall, ciuill, curteous, and gentle: of all vertuous qualities, I thinke that in them are to be found as many cleare and euident testimonies as there are places that speake of their exploits in vnpassionate Historiographers. For in respect of ciuilitie what better witnesse can wee haue then *Philip de Commines*, who himselfe had experience thereof in behalfe of the lord of *Faucler*. I should speake of a thing but too wel known throughout all the world, if I should spend manie words in discoursing of their magnificence and liberalitie. Certainly if that be true which *Herodian* writes of barbarous men, namely that they are naturally greedy of money, Englishmen are sufficiently discharged of the blame of barbarousnes: howsoeuer some ignorant, or passionate writers, haue endeouored to stayne them therewith. But to what purpose is it to stande long on this point, seeing the experience, and testimony of noble and famous personages dooth openly ratifie my saying? That good *Vidame of Chartres* of famous memorie (who for that himselfe was one of the most liberall Lo. of our time, might best speake of liberalitie) said openly that if there were any Nation in Christendome more liberall and courteous towards strangers, then the English, he would be reckoned amongst those which talke rashly of thinges which they know not. He which hath succeeded him as well in his vertues as his heritage, protesteth often that he dares not to speake of the humanitie, liberalitie and courtesie of the English Nation, fearing to begin a discourse, the entrie whereof were found much easier then the issue. *Odet Cardinall of Chastilion*, had ordinarily this saying in his mouth: that courtesie had once imparked her selfe in France, but that now she was passed ouer the sea.

This discourse would demand longer deduction, but I

am

Comines
cap. 34.

Herodian.
in Commo-
do,

am a Frenchman and iealous of the honor of my countrie. *Plutarch* writes that the great Rethoritian *Molon*, hauing on a day heard *Cicero* declaiming in Greeke, saide lamenting, that he deplored the estate of Greece, whose richest ornament (meaning eloquence) *Cicero* carryed away with him. For my part, though I am no lesse affectionate towards the English Nation then commands the desert of their vertues, yet so is it that I am sorrie to see them so richly arayed with our spoiles. In so much that England may by good right be accounted at this day the very Sanctuarie of all ciuilitie, kindnesse and courtesie: the testimonies whereof may be seene not only towards their friends, and in time of peace, but even in time of warre, and towards their enemies. Of many examples I will chuse one so notable, as I knowe not whether the like be to be found in the Greeke or Latine Historiographers. Amongest all the battels which were euer fought in France, that of *Poytiers* is worthy the remembrance, not onely for the inestimable losse of the vanquished, but much more for the courtesie and generositie of the vanquisher. For the Nobilitie of France was there hewen in peeces, many Princes and great Lordes made prisoners, and namely king *John* himselfe fell into the handes of the Prince of Wales, who had him afterwarde into England where he receiued so good and gracious intertainement of king *Edward* father to the Prince of *Wales*, that being on his fayth and hostages returned into France, to giue order for his affaires, after he had thoroughly considered the intertainement that was made him, he fauoured and liked so well of the English courtesie, that he esteemed it more honorable to die neere so noble a Prince, then to liue asking of the greatest and mightiest kingdome in Christendome. *Porus* an Indian king, being taken by *Alexander*, and being asked of him how hee desired to be dealt with at his handes, I am (sayth he) a king, let me be vsed Royally, as belongeth to a king. *Alexander* be-

*Plutarch in
the life of
Cicero.*

ing farther instant on him to know what he demāded more: this word *Royally* (sayth he) comprehends all, which made that *Alexander* esteemed highly of him afterwardes, and intertayned him according to his demand. But this courtesie of king *Edward* ought to be esteemed so much greater then that of *Alexander*, as *Porus* tooke no armes against him, but constrayned for his owne lawfull defence: and contrariwise, king *John* would not accept such honest cōditions of peace, as were offered him by the Prince of *Wales*, although the Cardinall of *Perigort*, being sent by Pope *Innocent* laboured to bring him to some composition. But hee being ouermastered by his choler, was overcome by a handfull of people, and lost a battell the nineteenth of September, 1356. which can not so well be compared vnto any as to that memorable exploit at *Cannas*, which was like to haue ouerthrowen the whole estate of the *Romaine* common wealth. And although ciuill warres are ordinarily managed with a courage so much the more inuenomed, as the allyance is straighter betweene cōtrie men: yet so it is (if we credite Histories) that there is not in all the world any Nation founde, which in this respect hath remained in such and so long a possession of moderation, and clemencie, as the English. *Comines* who hath beene as much or more acquainted with the affaires of England, as any Frenchman of his time, sayth that the custome of the country is in ciuill wars, to come straight to battell, & that the chiefe of that side, to which the victorie enclines, causeth to be proclaymed aloud, *Save the people*. That I would to God wee had vsed the like moderation in our ciuill warres, we should then at this day haue fiftie thousande more witnesses of our dissention, the shedding of whose bloud prouokes the anger of God against our cōtrie of France. But because that being occasioned as well by naturall affinitie, as by conformitie of manners, to loue a people, is not a thing of it selfe deseruing any great commendation

Comines
cap. 112.

dation without endeour to make demonstration thereof: the order of our discourse requires to haue this article sifted yet somewhat neerer, to the end that such as call the Englishmen ancient enemies to the crowne of France, may learne eyther to speake better, or else to holde their peace, whensoever there is question of any such matter. I say then that the effectes of amitie haue bin alwayes reciprocall beween these two Nations. For laying aside that which I alleaged out of *Cesar*, that the Britains had alwaies succoured the Gaules in all their warres. I will take testimonies of fresher memorie, of a hundred or sixe score yeares past.

In the time of king *Lewes* the eleventh, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, desirous to clip the wings of his mortall enimie *Lewes* of France, called to helpe him *Edward* king of England, his brother in lawe, to whom there needed not much speech to make him passe ouer into France, whereunto he wanted no pretence. There was then great likelihood, that if the duke of *Burgundie* had well knowen howe to vse his prosperitie, he had eyther quite ouerthrowe, or at least wonderfully shaken the whole estate of France. But king *Lewes* being a Prince much better furnished of wisdom, then of courage, considering to what exigent his affayres were brought, procured or rather cunningly practised a treatie of peace with king *Edward* at *Piquignie*. One may well say that at that time the mildnesse of king *Edward*, serued in steed of a strong and mightie bulwarke vnto France, against the furious and impetuous effortes of the Burgonian.

Charles the eight, the sonne and successour of *Lewes* was fauoured of heauen, so farre forth as to haue occasion to acknowledge this courtesie towards the English Nation: who was as readie to embrace such an occasiō as it was happily offered him. *Edward* of whom we last spake being deceased, his brother *Richard* duke of Gloucester, by euil practises and vnlawful meanes, inuested himselfe with the crowne

of Englande, defrauding his Nephewes of their inheritance. If the meanes of inuesting himselfe with so great an estate were strange and exorbitant, his behaviour and comportment therein was yet more strange. Such and so miserable was then the estate of poore Englande that he escaped best cheape, who went away with the losse of his goods, estate, and dignities. Diuerse of good calling and account, to saue themselves out of this shower, retyred into France. The Noblest and of greatest name amongst them was the Earle of *Richmond*, who hauing a while sojourned in Britanie, finally resolued himselfe to recouer with his owne good, the libertie of his countrie. This newe *Thrasibulus*, wanted neither friends nor partakers: for he had succor of king *Charles* the eight, with whom he passed ouer into England, where hauing giuen battell with happie successe, he had for guerdon of his prowesse, the estate and crowne, which hath euer since remained on the head of his successors. I would not stand so much on the courtesie of England, were it not that in our time euen within these sixtie yeares the effects thereof had beene so good, and so manifest on our behalfe, that it were blockishnesse in vs to be ignorant thereof, and great loosenesse if we did not acknowledge it.

Since the battell of *Poytiers*, France receiued not so great an ouerthrowe, as at *Pauie*, where king *Francis* was taken prisoner. The Emperour *Charles* being yet a young Prince, and boyling with ambition, after so fayre a victorie, entered into maruellous hopes, and helde himselfe assured that within fewe yeares, the vniuersall Monarchie of Europe would be the interpretation of his *Plus oultre*. And indeede there is great likelihood that the forces of France being so mated, he might if not wholly, yet in part haue seene the accomplishment of his desseignes, had not God (beholding our countrie with his pitifull eye) stirred vp the heart of *Henrie* the eight king of England, to stay the course of the Empe-

rouer

See the historie of
Bellay.

roure striking with full sayles through the midst of his victorie. An act deseruing so much the more admiration as king *Henrie* had no other occasion to do it; but an Heroicall vertue, with the which his courage being once enkindled, hee choose rather to appropriate vnto himselfe the sole honour of releiuing an afflicted neighbour, then to be copartner with the vanquisher in the spoyle and pray. In so much that we may well say, that king *Henrie* the 8. next vnto God hath beene the author of our deliuerance, and that the Lion hath plucked vs out of the Eagle his claws. And we must not thinke that he sought herein either his owne priuate profite or particular safetie. For touching profite, besides that which the euent hath made knowen, the protestation which hee made by his king at armes, defying the Emperour doth show sufficiently that he had no other end but honor and vertuous employes, which in ancient time, as sayth *Theocritus*, haue gotten the title of *Heroes*, to great and renowned personages. And in respect of securitie, the Emperour being as the affectionate towards his vncle king *Henrie*, for greater confirmation of amitie, a mariage was intreated of betweene him and the Ladie *Marie*, eldest daughter to king *Henrie*.

Theocritus
in laude
Ptolomæi,

Insomuch that all thinges accounted, the English had then no cause to be affraid of the Emperour. Moreover, the Emperour could not enterprise any thing on the estate of France without parting stakes with the English, for their olde pretence vnto *Guyen* and *Normandie*.

This matter deserueth longer discourse, but I studie after breuitie, that I may speake somewhat of king *Edward* the sixt, the sonne of king *Henrie*. This Prince was so full of vertue and the feare of God, that he may by good right be called the *Iosias* of the new Testament, and the Paragon of Princes Christian. But laying aside his rare vertues, whereof the best speakers can speake but too compendiously, I will only touch that which neereſt concerns our subiect.

This

This Prince by the counsell of the late duke of *Northumberland* carried so entire, and sincere an affection to our king *Henrie the seconde*, that if God had lent him longer life, there had beene a league made betweene these two kinges & duke *Maurice* of Saxonie. In such sort that there is great likelihood that an allyance made betweene three such mighty Princes, had then brought the Emperour *Charles* to take that part which after wardes he tooke, that is, to retire himselfe into *Castile*, to the Monasterie of *Saint Iust*. I speake not of his humanitie vsed towardes our poore Frenchmen, fled into England for refuge in a time, when to make possession of a Christian life in France, was but to expose themselves to the death. This obligation is common to vs with almost all the Nations of Europe, whose exile hath beene honored with the assistance and comfort of this most holy and happy king *Edwarde*. Happie (say I) not only in respect of himselfe, but for that he hath also in his sister the Queene *Elizabeth* so perfect a portraiture, and so right a resemblance of his most Christian and Heroicall vertues. Which causeth that all such as throughout Europe are indued with sound iudgement, do wish of all thinges in the world, eyther to be the subiectes of such a Princess, or at least to liue vnder the subiection of such a Prince as might most resemble her. But I dare not vndertake to set forth the prayses of Queene *Elizabeth*, in respect that if I should omit any one of her rare vertues, my discourse would not be well taken of the better sort: and to go about to discourse of the by particulars, were neuer to haue done. Taking then a shorter course, I will only say that she hath made demonstration of her good will towardes France, as often times as the estate of our affaires hath presented her any occasion. Aboue all, she hath alwaies showed her selfe affectionate to the intertayning of peace with vs, being induced therunto as well by her owne cleare insight and wise forecast, as also by the mature & sage counsell

sell of the right vertuous and noble Lords Sir *William Cecill*; yet at this day Lord Treasurer of England, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, of worthie memorie, sometimes Lorde Keeper of her Maiesties great Seale; personages indued with so high and eminent wisdome, and so happily qualified in all kinds of vertue, that he shall well deserue a place amongst the best speakers that shall duly set foorth their praises to posteritie. For my part I magnifie that most mercifull God which hath so well married good happe to the vertue of these two English *Nesters*, that in them may be seene the accomplishment of that prayer so much celebrated by *Callimachus*.

Callima-
chus in
hymno
Iouis.

Χαῖρε πάτερ, χαῖρε ἀνθι, Νίκε δ' ἀπερὶ τ' ἀγαθὸν-τε

Οὐδ' ἀπὸ ἀτὺρ ὀλβος ἐπίσταται ἀνδρας αἰετιν.

Οὐτ' ἀπὸ ἀρίστο Νίκε δ' ἀπερὶ τ' ἀγαθόν-τε ὀλβον.

O blessed father be thou blest,

Giue vertue, giuing store:

*Goods without vertue do no good,
with vertue euermore.*

*And vertue feeble feeles her force
if so she liue in want,*

*Then blessed father vertue giue
and let not store be scant.*

It remaines now to speake of a like demonstration of amitie towards vs, and yet in a case much vnlike. France hath not in it any greater ornament, then the Citie of *Paris*, nor the City of *Paris* then the exercise of learning, which hath beene there continued, euer since the time of *Charlemaine*: that is to say, since the yeare 792. euen till this day with such reputation, that in the time of our fathers, to haue studied at *Paris*, and to be well learned, were two diuerse termes signifying one and the selfe same thing. But if this benefite be great, (as it can not be otherwise accounted sauing of such as want iudgement) we can not acknowledge to haue receiued it of any but the English Nation, except we will in de-

priuing the of their deserued praise, bereaue our selues also of being reputed a people that lones roundnesse and integritie. For *Charles* the great was induced to this so happie an enterprife, by the counsell of *Flaccus Albinus* an Englishman, seconded by two Scottishmen, the one named *Ioannes Mitrosius*, the other *Claudius Clemens*.

But euen as euill counsell, by a iust iudgement of God fals ordinarily to the preiudice of him that giues it; contrariwise the author of good and holy counsell, is hee who willingly tasteth the first frutes thereof: So the Englishmen haue reaped the fruite of that good and wholsome counsell of *Albinus*, and his companions in that the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* is a branch of that of *Paris*. But because wee see men to be so much the more inclined to thinges vnto the which they are drawn for the conseruation of that which doth nearest concerne them: I say that the safetie of England toucheth vs so neerely, and our safegarde so neerely the English, that one of the two Nations, being distressed by a stranger, the other may make reckoning that they are not long to enioy any great quietnesse. It is knowen that as soone as *Cesar* had set on foot the Romaine power in France, he thought hee had not well played his part, vntill he went to remoue household into England. The histories haue so cleared this article, that it were but superfluitie of speech to extende our selues any farther in deduction thereof.

I would now that some one of our maisters of the Court, who are so affectionate and make so great account of the allyance of *Spaine* wold shew me the like motives & grounds of their opinion. But I assure my selfe, that they will not put themselves to the paynes of proouing any naturall affinitie betweene the French and Spanish, vnlesse they fetch it from the Arke of *Noe*: or else make reckoning of that which the Poets tell touching the beautifull *Bebrix*. Which neuerthelesse were an argument as feeble as far from the purpose

as is knowen to such as are seene in the knowledge of antiquitie and specially of Poeticall-fictions.

But being now entered into this discourse, it will not bee impertinent to speake of the originall of our Spaniardes at this'day. For euē as waters which run out of sulphur springs, haue alwayes a taste of brimstone, so men carrie alwaies imprinted in their manners, the vertuous or vicious qualitie of their ancestors. So that hauing knowen the originall of the Spaniardes, it will be a good opening to the discourses ensuing. About the yeare of Christ 717. *Julian* Count of *Biscay* being extreemely greeued, and exceeding desirous to be reuenged of the outrage done vnto him by *Rodericke* king of the *Gothes*, who had defloured his daughter, called and drew vnto him the *Moores* for his succor, vnder the conduct of their king *Muza Maramolin*. Vnder this pretence (so safe a thing is it to bring in forrain forces) the *Moores* made themselues masters of all Spaine, except *Biscay* and *Austerlande*: their captaines hauing afterwarde parted this conquered cuntry amongst thē, became so many pettie kings in Spaine. Since that time the *Saracens* haue beene mingled farther amongst them. But if wee will fetch the matter yet farther about (that is) from *Cæsars* time, we shall finde that without speaking of the *Romains*, who commanded almost ouer all Europe, the *Gothes*, the *Vandales*, the *Moores*, the *Saracens*, haue ruled ouer Spaine. Therefore if of good right the *Gothes* and *Vandales*, are counted cruell, the *Moores* perfidious and reuengefull, the *Saracens* proud, and villanous in their manner of liuing. I pray you what humanitie, what faith, what courtesie, what modestie, and ciuilitie, may wee thinke to finde amongst this scumme of Barbarians? But to the end it be not thought that I rest rather on presumptions, then on proofes and sound argumentes, I am content that this article be cleeted by conference of their manners with ours, that is, of their vices with our vertues, of their vile vi-

liacquerie, with our generositie. In breefe, such is this comparison that if some Rhethoritian would employ his eloquence in framing of a long and liuely Antithesis, he could not in the world find a subiect more sortable to his purpose, then the comparing of our conditions with those of this mongrell generation.

And to the end that none may thinke that I speake without booke, to beginne with the blazon of their brauest colours, I will produce a witnesse, who will make them blush for shame, though they be so brasen faced, that they blush not by their wils. If I should but say, that the witnesse whom I purpose to produce, is a Senatour of *Venice*, yet had I sufficiently qualified him to make him get credence of wise and discrete persons. But I will say moreouer, that he is an ancient Senator, and so well seene in the affaires of this world, that for a man to conforme himselfe after his imitation, is nothing else at this day amongst the *Venetians*, but to aspire to an immortall renowne, by a most wise conduct of matters of estate. It is (to be short) that excellent and renowned personage *Andrea Gritti*, who discoursing in the Senate of *Venice*, of the humors of this Spanish generation: beholde what good testimonie he giues of their integritie. The Spanish Nation (sayth he) is vnfaithfull, rauinous, and insatiable aboue all other Nations. And where is (I pray you) that place of the worlde, where those infamous Harpyes haue once set footing without defiling of it with the footsteps of their abominable vices?

Guichardin, lib. 15

But because that in matter of prooffe, the testimony of one alone is of no great weight. I will yet produce an other witnesse which is *Francis Guichardin*, an Historian so accomplished, as the naming onely of his gistes and perfections, would desire and deserue a whole Historie. Behold what testimonie he giues of the Spanish integritie. The Spanish Nation (sayth he, giuing his iudgement of these venerable

Padres)

Padres) is couetous and craftie, and when they haue meanes to discouer themselues, such as indeede they are, most insolent and outragious. *Geryon* king of Spaine (if we giue credite to Poeticall fables) had three bodies: and although it be a Poeticall fiction, yet will it not be found so strange of him that will thoroughly consider the nature and disposition of the Spaniarde, in whom may be scene together incorporated, a craftie Foxe, a rauenous Wolfe, and a raging Tygre. And let that be spoken in respect of the least insupportable of that Nation. For he which shall neerely looke into those of greatest account amongst them, that is, such as are more wicked and abhominable, then the vulgar sort, he shall find in euery one of them the Cube: yea oftentimes the verie Surfolide of this ternarie monster. He shall finde (I say) an vncleane and filthie swine, a theeuish howlet, a proud peacocke: and for an accomplishment of all their ornaments, he shall find a legion of diuels, making trade of lying, coofening and deceauing the world.

Briareus (as *Homer* sayth) had a hundred hands: he which shall thinke that a Spaniard hath lesse when it comes to cat- Homerus
Iliade. a. ching, let him receaue, be it but for a day or two, some *Dom Diego* into his house, and if he change not his opinion, I will be content to confesse, that the Spaniarde hath changed his custom. I say if pilferie & theft be rather to be esteemed custumarie, then naturall in this Nation. And if any doubt of their sufficiency in this respect, the estate of the low countries will so manifest it vnto him, that he wil soone be brought to cofesse that the *Bohemians* & *Egyptians*, are but young prentises of the Spaniard in appropriating other mens goods to theselues. And he shold do the great iniury, who shold think that with time they had not made themselues more cunning in their craft, specially these later yeres, during which a great many of these gallant spirits haue serued their apprenticeship vnder *Dom Ferdinando* of Toledo, so soueraign a master in this

Virg.
Eglog. i.

facultie, that to go about to compare vnto him an *Antolicus*, or a *Verres*, were to fall into the error of the shepheard *Tytirus*, comparing small things vnto great.

But me thinkes it were reasonable to hide the imperfections of this great Captaine, in contemplation of such excellent partes as are in him. For by the saying of his disciples, and vpholders, he is secret, wise, & of great vnderstanding. As touching his taciturnitie, I doubt not at all but that he is verie secrete. Neither is there any thing, specially in his particular, and domesticall actions, but may by him & his with more honestie be concealed than vttered. Touching his great wisdom and forecast, he hath giuen such and so many testimonies thereof in the conduct of Flanders affayres, that if the Sunne should as often eclipse in heauen, as wisdom hath in his head, during that time there, wee might well thinke that we were on that daies eue, which shal bring an end to all things of this world. At the least, it is notorious, that his wit so farre fayled him, as that he knew not how to hide those theftes and robberies which hee had committed on the poore people (for the thing is too well knowen) but those pillinges and peculations, which he made on the treasours of his master, I knowe well that his creatures disguising the deede, say that hee remayned in arrearages. But laying aside these colours of *Castilian* Rhetorick, I say roundly, that our French tongue is so bare, that it hath no other tearme fit enough to specifie the good dealing of the Duke of *Alaa*, but theft and robbrie. And therefore if at this day he practise as well in Spaine with the lute, as he hath doone with the harpe in Flanders, king *Phillip* may well sende backe his *Seuerino* into Italy. But howsoever it be, the king his master hath reprehended his avarice, but yet not with rigour, hauing respect peradventure to the order of the fleece, which I dare well say, hee hath no better reason to beare, then because he first fleeced, and then deuoured as a
rauening

rauening Wolfe, the innocent sheepe of a good shepheard. For we must not thinke that hee and the rest of that Spanish rascall, spared any more the bloud, then the purses of the poore people of the lowe countries: for they had commandement so to do. And their Prince was not with any thing so much moued, as in that they did not handle the yet more extremely. That soone mayest thou O new *Pharao*, by thy miserable death make an end of the waylings of so many desolate persons.

But if any one thinke that the courages of the Spaniards haue been so inuenomed against those of the low countries, for the different of Religion, he shewes that he is as little acquainted with their naturall disposition, as with the state of their affaires. It is about a hundred yeares since they discovered a new world, vnder the conduct of *Christopher Columbus*, who in my iudgment would neuer haue vndertaken this voyage, if he had thought that the men whome hee brought thither, as if they were charmed by the cup of *Circe*, should straightwaies be transformed into Lions, Panthers, Tigres, and other sauage beastes. The Indians and Americans are poore barbarous, and simple ones: such as by good conuersation, and godly perswasions, might easily be wonne vnto Christ, which way the Frenchme haue since that time both wisely and happily followed. But in truth we may well say that this new Indian and American world hath not beene so much vnknownen in times past: as the new and enormous cruelties, which these diuels incarnate comming out of Spaine, do there put in practise.

O Turkes, O Scythians, O Tartarians, reioyce yee now, sithence at this day there is found in Christendome a Nation, which by their wicked and detestable deeds, go about to burie that hatred which is borne to your barbarous crueltie. But I dwell too long on so tragicall a subiect, which notwithstanding I do with as great griefe as with iust occasion.

Laying

Laying aside then such an argument as is sufficient to make *Demosritus* weepe, let vs speake of two articles, cyther of which is such as hee had neede to be possessed with an humour more then *Heracriticall*, that hearing and considering them neerely could abstaine from laughter. It is of their ciuilitie and modestie.

Touching the first, if any haue had that good hap neuer to haue beene conuersant with Spaniards, and would notwithstanding be informed according to the truth of their Gothish ciuilitie, hee can not see a more liuely portraiture, nor a draught drawne by the hande of a happier *Appelles*, then *Terence*, in the description which hee makes of harlots in his *Eunuch*, in these tearmes: *Quæ dum foris sunt, nihil videtur mundius, nec magis compositum quicquam, nec magis elegans.*

And a little after he addeth: *Harum videre est ingluuiem, sordes, inopiam, quàm inhonestæ solæ sint domi, atque auida cibi: quæ pacto ex iure hesterni panem atrum vorant.*

I would say more, were it not for displeasing of the delicate sort: and we haue here set the Spaniardes on stage like good Apothecaries, to furnish our selues with laughter at their charges. And I pray you what man is there so melancholy, that could forbear laughter, seeing a burden-bearer, a cobbler, or a carter, to call himselfe *Cauallero*: or else to see a *Cauallero* of Spaine, going thorough the fields, to carrie the fragmentes of his dinner in a budget, and to play a thousand other peasauntly partes, which the carriers, cobblers, and carters of our countrie would disdayne once to haue thought on. The Mathematicians teach, that in the operations of Algebra, the most equall is often reduced vnto lesse. The speeches of the Spaniardes do much resemble this diuine Algebricall misterie: In so much that ordinarily these great and magnificent titles of a grand *Cauallero*, hauing ten thousand duckets of reuenewe; make as much beeing taken at their true rate and value, as an vnthrif, a rascall and

a runnagate, hauing scarce thirtie Maluedies in his purse, to pay for patching of his pantofles. So that one may well say to those magnificent *Dom Dieges*, as sometimes said a great personage of *Athens*, your discourse is like to the Cipres tree, which being great and high bringeth foorth no fruite.

Plutarchus
in Phocio-
ne.

To be short, he that would see a liuely picture of an Attalus, a Suffenus, or a Thrafo, without troubling himselfe too much in turning ouer *Martiall*, *Catallus*, and *Terence*: let him onely consider the sterne lookes, and stately speeches of a Spaniarde. And although these tarcelets of Saracens be qualified, as I haue sayde, yet haue they with blowes of pistolets so blinded the eyes of some of our Courtiers, that they are not ashamed to maintayne, that wee are much bound to these honest creatures. For my part I confesse I am not so sharpe witted, as to see the foundation of this obligation, except they will take it in the same sence that *Antiochus* did, saying that he was much beholden to the Romans, who hauing shortned his authoritie and power, had eased him of a huge and heauie burden. Euen so are wee indebted to the Spaniards, in that they haue eased vs of such trauailes as the estates of Flanders, Naples, and Millayne, might haue brought vnto vs. And moreouer to intreate yet farther of their good affection towards vs, is not this a testimonie of their cordiall Spanish amitie, which they vsed in times past to our ancestors, (according to their cruell nature) that hauing wonne the battell of our men, they slue afterwarde all the prisoners they had in their hands, as *Froylard* witnesseth? Would any mā craue a clearer interpretation of that which heretofore I alleaged out of *Guycharaine*, that this Nation is most insolent, when they haue found their aduantage to discover themselves as they are, that is, to rake off the maske of their hipocrisie. It is also a faire testimony of their courtesie towards vs, that contrary to their promised faith, they massacred out men in *Florida*, about twentie yeares since. I had

Cicero pro
Deiotaro,

Looke
Froylard,

Plutarchus
in Phocion
lib. 2.

Se Froylard

almost forgotten to produce one notable effect of their courtesie towards vs, that is, the imprisonment of king *Francis*, which himselfe tooke the more grieuouly (as *Guichardine* reportes) because the remembrance of the English courtesie towards king *Iohn* was deeply engrauen in his memorie. What testimonie of amitie towards vs is that which the Spaniards will alleadge? Shall it not be the succour which king *Henrie* of *Castile* gaue in the time of king *Charles* the fifth: and the victorie which hee wonne before *Rockell* of the Earle of *Pembroke*? As if he himselfe had not reaped the principall fruite of this victorie, or as if such an assistance had not beene the chiefe rampire of his owne estate.

Cicero
de Officiis
lib. 1.

But as the English are conformable vnto vs in so many thinges as I haue heretofore alleaged, so they haue that also common with our miserie, that they haue tryed to their cost the most dangerous amitie of the Spaniards. For *Phillip* king of *Spaine*, and then also king of *England*, hauing purposed to possesse himselfe of *Callis*, gaue occasion to the French to do that with the Lyons clawe, which the Spaniarde had thought to haue done with the Foxe his tooth: otherwise the French would neuer haue resolved themselues on so hazardous an enterprise as the siege of *Callis*.

look
in Froylard

To make short, one may well say, that the Nation of the worlde which is most affectioned towards the commonweale of France, is that which least resembleth the Spanish, which so much the more boldlie I conclude, as I hold my selfe assured that none will paine himselfe so much as to proue that they haue beene helpfull vnto vs, cyther in the knowledge of good letters, or in gouernement of our manners. For what lightning vnto learning can be expected of a Natiō which during this happie age hath scarcely brought forth five or sixe learned men. Thence I thinke it is, that the Spaniards (as great traauaylers as they are) neuer durst go so farre as to the *Hiperboreans*, fearing belike, least they yet kept

kept their ancient custome, that is, sacrificyng of Asses. For gouernement of manners, we may well say, that as the Philosopher *Polyanus*, being once wedded to the dotages of *Epicurus*, forgot all the knowledge which he had of Geometry, so by the acquaintance of Spaniards, we haue almost forgotten that vertue which we were best acquainted with, that is, courtesie and humanitie.

Pindarus
ode, x. Pith.

Cicero in
Lucullo.

And to what purpose I pray you, should that Nation bee so affectionate vnto vs, who hath so little interest in our ouerthrowe: nay rather which hath alwayes, and especially within these hundred yeares, founded their aduancement on our destruction. I abridge this discourse of purpose, to intreate of an article of more importance, that is, the means which both the one and the other hath to helpe and to hinder vs. I wil speake first concerning traficke, and after touching matter of armes.

All such as haue knowledge both of England & Spaine, will agree vnto me, that Englands is much better stored of people then Spaine. I speake not in respect of proportion, but absolutely (although England be by a great deale the lesser) which proceedes onely of the temperature of the place. For although France be one of the temperatest regions that are, yet so is it that *Cesar* sayeth expressely, speaking of England, *Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia*. This abundance of people is a certain argument of the fertilitie of the place. *Pindarus* in some place calleth *Sicilie* *ποικυλως*, that is, abundant in sheepe, and expounding himselfe, in an other place he calleth it *παρα*, that is, fat or fertile. If the argument of this so learned Poet be well couched, we may well conclude, the fertilitie of England, by the great abundance not onely of sheepe, but in generall, of cattell which is in it. Here (it may be) some will alledge the saying of *Cicero* in his oration entituled *De Aruspicium responsis*. For beholde with what wordes he speaketh. *Quam volumus, licet ipsi nos amemus:*

Pindarus
ode 1.
Olym.
Pind. od. 1.
Nem.

Cicero in
Lucullo.

*tamen nec numero Hispanus, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pa-
nos, nec artibus Gracos, nec demique hoc ipso huius gentis ac terra
natio sensu Italici ipsos ac Latinos, sed pietate, ac religione omnes
gentes ac nationes superauimus.*

Plinius li. 7.
Cap. 21.

But in this place it is easie to see that Cicero had rather eares,
then eyes, as well as heretofore speaking of Astrologie. And
that in this discourse, hee would play the part of an other
Miracides, making a great ado about a small matter. But to
what purpose is it to stande much on this article, since the
trafficke of the one and the other countrie, may easily cleere
it. We haue out of England, Wooll, Tinne, Fish, and ma-
ny other thinges in great quantitie. In exchange whereof
wee furnish them with wine, salt, woad, and diuerse other
thinges, which is the cause that *Rochell*, *Bordeaux*, and ge-
nerally all the coast of *Normandie*, *Britaine*, and *Guienne*, is
brought into great perplexitie, when the trafficke ceaseth
with Englande.

Out of Spaine, I confesse, we haue very good Horses for
seruice, although they come but by stealth. Which I doo
neuerthelesse against my will, because that confessing this
article, I am constraind to accuse the negligence and sloth
of our Frenchmen. For if we would maintaine such races of
horses and mares as are scene at *Landedan*, our trafficke with
Spaine should be accounted of meere charitie: for as much
as we shold helpe the very much, without being holpen or
eased by them. For the marchandise of a fewe perfumed
gloues, and such other small baggage, deserues not to be ac-
counted of. And for their behoofe they are constraind to
borrowe of vs, (by reason of the drinesse and barrennesse of
their countrie) that which is most necessarie for the life of
mā, which is corne. As for wine, they haue sufficient. There
remaines the trafficke of wooll, of kerseys, and clothes both
woollen and linnen, which comes not to the thirde part of
that which our Marchantes haue out of Englande. Neither
will

will it serue to say that he may haue store of corn out of such places, as he holdeth in *Italy*, as out of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Millaine*. For they which husbanded the matter after this manner, do not consider that this were but robbing of *Peter* to pay *Paule*. *Sicily* is fruitfull I graunt, but it behooueth that *Malta* and the *Gozze*, be sustayned by her fruitfulnessse, except they will in abandoning of them, expose themselves for a pray to the Turke. Moreouer a great part of the commodities of *Sicile*, are employed on the maintenance of *Italy*. But in respect of *Millaine*, and of *Lombardie*, the Spaniard findes such difficultie of carriage, that hee can not well helpe himselfe with the commodities thereof, except the saue cost him much dearer than the fish is worth. Touching *Naples*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, as they are lesse fruitfull, so also the Spaniard can be lesse holpen by them. The like may be sayd in respect of the lowe countries.

Some peradventure will finde it strange, that I stande so much on the infertility of Spaine, seeing that the great meanes which this Nation hath to helpe vs with, make a more then sufficient counterpoise, for this default. Heere must I needes employ that *Quolibet*, which the Iudges of Rome were wont to vse, when they found themselves perplexed for the decision of some matter of importance, that is to say, *Non liquet*. But this perplexitie of mine, is so much the lesse, as it may easily be remoued by comparing of the meanes as well of England as of Spaine. If we will measure these meanes by the number of souldiers which the one and the other Nation is able to set forth: experience, (that is *Historie*) pleadeth manifestly for the English. And, that so it is: king *Edward*, of whom we haue spoken afore, brought to the ayde of the Duke of *Burgundie*, by the testimony of *Comines*, fiftene hundred men well mounted, the most of them on barbed horses, and richly furnished. Also fiftene thousand Archers on horsebacke. In our time king *Henrie* making de-

Guichar-
dine lib. 12

ſcent into *Picardie*, to ioyne him ſelfe with the Emperour *Maximilian* the fiſt, at the camp of *Terouane*, had five thouſand horſe, and more then fortie thouſande footmen, whereof five and twentie thouſand were Engliſh, and fifteen thouſande Lanſquenets. The Emperour *Charles*, and his ſonne king *Phillip* haue beene the Princes, who haue commanded moſt abſolutely ouer Spaine: yet neyther the one nor the other haue in their warres made greater leaue, then eight thouſand naturall Spaniardes, and almoſt all footmen. For in reſpect of horſemanſhip, the Spaniarde ſomewhat reſembles the ſword-fiſh, which hath a blade, and can not helpe himſelfe therewith. The ſame may be ſaide of the Spaniardes, who haue very good horſes which ſerue their turne better to traficke with their friendes, than to fight and repulſe the enemy. But becauſe that the memorie of late accidentes may ſerue much to the deciding of this difficultie, I will here alleage ſo cleere and euident a teſtimonic, as that whoſoeuer makes reckoning of Spaniſh forces, ſhall haue nothing for ground of his opinion, but either a light beliefe, or an opinatiue conceipt. During the raigne of king *Francis* the ſecond, when the great ones of France were at diſcord amongeſt themſelues, king *Phillip* wrote a letter to the king, which was read in the priue Counſell: I can not well ſay in what language it was written, but the contentes ſeemed to ſmell of the Spaniſh phraſe. For he proteſted that whenſoeuer any ſturres happen in France, hee woulde helpe the king his brother, with an armie of fiftie thouſande men. Shortly after occaſion was offered of effectuatiue that which he had ſo ſolemnely proteſted. For France was torne with a tempeſt of ciuill warre: And although our miſeries made almoſt as many fountaines of teares to iſſue forth, as there are townes in France, yet gaue they vnto the king of Spaine occaſion to reioyce, in furniſhing him with meanes, to accompliſh his promiſe. Let vs ſee then how well he acquitted himſelfe.

himselfe. He was requested to send succour vnto the King his brother, being desirous to reſtaſbliſh the Romiſh religion in her former eſtate. He, becauſe hee woulde not be thought to be backewarde, cyther in zeale to his religion, or amitie towardes his brother, aſſembled certaine troupes of thoſe prudent & religious perſons, whoſe ordinarie praſtiſe, is in the ſtraightes of the mountaynes *Pirenees*, to take gold without waying it, and ſiluer without telling it. Neither yet to the number of fiftie thouſand as he promiſed, but of two thouſand only. In ſort that it was eaſie for good Arithmeticians to iudge, that this good Prince making ſuch proteſtation as aboueſaide, had calculated his meanes by the rule of falſe poſition. Touching the behauiours of theſe braue and valorous ſouldiers, to him that conſidered them neerely they ſeemed to repreſent I know not what Image of the ancient times, during which as *Thucidides* writeth, robberie was not ſubieſt vnto any reproch. The reſpect of theſe goodly qualities, made the Romaine Catholikes to lament ſo much the more the loſſe of theſe honeſt men. For they being incamped on the riuer of *Tard*, thoſe *Amazons* of *Mountain*, in certaine ſailies killed a great number of them, without confeſſion or repentance of any finne, ſauing of that which is termed militarie temeritie, and ouerſight of warre. But becauſe that in comparing diuerſe thinges together, the Geometricall proportion is to be accepted aboue the Arithmetically, he were not much out of the way, who would iudge rather by the valour and deſert of both Nations in deedes of armes, then by the number. For oftentimes a ſmall number of men doth ouercome a great armie, and treades them vnder foote. I am exceeding ſorie that I can not produce any better teſtimonies of the Engliſh prowefſe, then thoſe great and notable victories which they haue gotten ouer vs. Yet ſo it is that our valiant Succellors wanting nothing leſſe then courage and good will, in thoſe battailes,

the

Thucidides
lib. 1.

the English can not vaunt themselves of any thing, more then that they ouer-came most valiant enemies. So those Poetes and Historiographers, who haue song of their prosperitie, could not therewith but report our valiancie. In brieft, the vertue and prowesse of our auncestors, deserued not to be surmounted by any, but by such enemies as knew how to vanquish euen victorie it selfe, that is to say, the furour and insolencie of victorious armes. Let the *Carthaginians* boast, as much as they list, of their happie successe at *Cannas*: yet he that should preferre it aboue the battaile of *Cressie*, should shewe himselfe eyther too much appassionate or too simply skilled in the knowledge of histories. Out of which we may gather, that in the sayde renowned battell which was fought in the yeare 1346. there were slaine on our side eleuen Princes, foure score Barons, a thousand and two hundred horsemen, and aboue thirtie thousande footemen. Also the battell of *Poytiers* (whereof I haue spoken heretofore) gaue the like testimonie as well of the English prowesse in winning of the victorie, as of their courtesie and mildnesse in vsing of it moderately; which makes mee the more freely to speake of their vertue, and roundly to confesse that the smal number on their side, haue made their victories the more notable and renowned.

It were against reason to request the Spaniardes, in this comparison, to furnish vs with the like examples of their prowesse and valiancie, for they are discharged of so doing by that rule of lawe which sayth, that none is bound to the execution of thinges which are impossible. I should feare also of being accounted a forger of Paradoxes, in saying that the Spaniardes are no warlike Nation, if I had not so cleere and eident proofes thereof, that to denie them were but fast shutting of a mans eyes, that he might not see the sunne shine at noone day. And to seeke out the depth of this matter, and to reason of effectes by their causes, I say that if nature

ture haue not changed her ordinarie course of working, the Spaniarde can not any wayes be reputed amongst the warlike Nations. Those Nations which inhabite colde countries are (as *Aristotle* saith) indued with a more haucie and stout courage then others: but not so quicke and sharp witted as other. And therefore they loue more their libertie, but are not so fit to beare rule ouer their neighbor Nations. Contrariwise, the Nations of *Asia* are more quickspirited: but being of baser courage, they yeelde their necke sooner vnto the yoke of bondage. And therefore, hee concludeth that the Greekes holding the midst betweene extreme heate and extreme colde, are partakers of both complexions. But as his proposition is founded on so good a consideration, that all men of vnderstanding will alwayes yeelde vnto it, so dare I to affirme, that in the applying thereof, the loue of truth gaue place to the loue of his countrie. For the most Northerne part of Greece is of fortie foure degrees, which is the eleuation of that quarter where *Constantinople* is situated, and also of the mountaines *Pyrenes*, which separate France from Spaine. And therefore the fife and fortith degree which is the very bound of temperature, marking out the middest of France, we may well say, that our countrie is more temperate then Greece. But although Englande be as much or more northerly, then any part of France, yet being on euerie side enuironed with the Ocean, the colde is nothing so excessive there, as it is in France, which *Cesar* very well obserued. And therefore it is easie to conclude, that by reason of the situation of the place, that the Englishmen are both warlike and wise, that is to say, accomplished with whatsoener is necessarie to a ciuill life. For the force of bodie is no lesse requisite in execution, than the dexterie and vigour of wit, in deuise and deliberation, as very well Nem. sayde the Poet *Pindarus*.

*Arist. lib. 7.
cap. 7. po-
litic.*

Pind. ode. 1.

Nem.

*Though doughtie deedes are done by might,
With counsell graue the minde giues light.*

And it is not sufficient to say, as *Commines* doth, that the Englishmen are very cholericke; a passion which of all others doth most trouble a mans iudgement, especially when he is at point to resolute himselfe. For well it might be so in the time of *Commines*, when Englishmen were not yet so well polished, as they haue bin since by the knowledge of good letters. But since that by the liberalitie of king *Edward* wee haue seene two *Athens* in one England, that is to wit, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*: it were hard to iudge whether that so mightie a realme, hath beene more plentifull in the fruites of the earth, then abundant in fine, subtile, and most excellent wits, meete for the managing of matters of estate. It is about three or fourescore yeares past, that the Italian made the same reproch to the Frenchmen that *Commines* dooth to the Englishmen: namely that they could not skill of matters of estate. But since the time that king *Francis* replenished France with learned men, by meanes of the professors which bee caused to come from all partes of *Paris*, the Italians should flatter themselves ouer much, if they thought that in conduct of ciuill affaires, the Frenchmen were any whit behind them. Therefore it is that *Petrus Ramus* (a man whose renowne flyeth daily through out all the coastes of the world) did so much enforce himselfe in his familiar talke, to extoll the liberalitie, and other excellent vertues of king *Edward*, and Queene *Elizabeth*, that he thought he neuer had a matter worthie to worke on with his wonderfull eloquence, except he were discoursing of the nature of a Princely and Heroicall vertue, whereof he represented a true and liuely portraiture in the actions, and behauiour of these two Princes.

But

Machiauell
in lib. de
principe.

But the desire which I haue with the meanes, to shewe that the Spaniarde is no warlike man, makes me to be somewhat the shorter in discoursing of the wisdom of the Englishmen. I take that reason which I alleaged out of *Aristotle* to be sufficient to put backe the Spaniarde frō that place which he pretendes to haue amongst the warlike Nations. Yet if any man chuse rather to referre himselfe to experience then to these Philosophicall reasons, I haue sufficient to content him, if he be a man that will be contented with reason. I say then, that before this last hundred yeares, the Spanish Nation was had in no reputation for teates of armes. And for prooffe, I report mee to the testimonie of Histories. I say moreouer, that since that time looke how often the Princes of Spaine haue placed the chiefe strength of their armies, in bandes of the Spanish Nation, they haue alwayes receiued the ouerthrow. The battels of *Rauenna*, & *Seri Zoles* do sufficiently prooue my saying. On the contrarie, if they haue had any aduantages ouer vs, as at *Paue*, saint *Quintins*, and at *Graveling*, they ought to thanke the *Almaynes*, and *Englishmen* for it. I confesse that vnder the conduct of the Emperour *Charles*, they were brought to some order of discipline; which they do yet, and shall continue as long as it shall please God to vse them for the execution of his iust vengeance. For it is he that both giueth and taketh vertue to and from men, when and as oftentimes as he himselfe listeth, as the Poet *Homer* hath very well noted, saying:

Ζεύς δ' αἰσάτῳ ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ καὶ παῖσι τελευτᾷ.
Ὅστις κεν εὖ θάῃηται, οὗ δὴ χάρις ἀνδρῶν.
God vertue giues, God vertue takes from men,
As often as it pleaseth him, and when.

And although the Spaniardes surpasse all other Nations in the world in vaine and foolish bragging, when they fall in

question of their owne prowesse and valiancie, yet do they labour to surmount themselves in this impudent boasting when they once come to speake of their treasures and riches. And for as much as this is the chief foundation of their imaginative greatnesse, I will stand somewhat the longer on this point and will make it knowne, that if they had but the third part of that riches which they imagine they haue, they should be three times richer then they are. The Egyptians reported in their Histories, that in the Temple of *Jupiter* there was a pillar made of foure Emeraude, hauing euery one of them fortie cubites of length: whereat *Theophrastus* iested pleasantly, and with great reason. Such like tales are found in the Spanish Historiographers, concerning the Ile of *Zipahrie*, where these good fellowes would faine make vs to beleue, that flies carrie double pike staues. Touching the treasures of *Peru*, to make vs vnderstande that their reportes are made by imitation of *Lucians* true tales, they seeme not to haue forgotten any thing vntold, sauing that in the Cabinet of *Atapaliba*, they found a whole hundred of Diamonds, euery one of them as bigge at least, as an *Ostriches* egge. But laying aside theselyes which can not be beleued of any but of such as beleue the reall veritie of *Ouid* his *Metamorphosis*. Let vs consider that these riches come not into the king of Spaine his coffers, like grasse in a medowe, that is to say, without any cost, but on the contrary, that the carriage cost him deere. Let vs consider farther, that other Nations, and especially the Frenchmen haue learned the way to *Peru*, who fearing perhaps least the Spaniardes might perish in the sea by being ouer-laden, do diuerse times of meere charitie, and good will yeelde them so much succour as to take some part of their burden into their owne ships. Yea so courteous & friendly be our Frenchmen, that they constrain the Spaniardes whether they will or no, to receiue the effectes and testimonies of this their charitable

Theophrastus

περί λίθων.

charitable courtesie. Besides all this, the Indians begin to waxe shrewd lads, and to make no more so much account of glasses, pins, and such other Spanish giftes: peradventure because some bodie hath made them taste this saying of Sophocles.

Εχθρῶν ἀδωγὰ δῶκα κ' ἐν ἐνίοισιμα.

*Though faire the giftes of foes may seeme,
Unfriendly alwayes do them deeme.*

Sophoc. in
Alace.

And if other causes wanted, is it possible that the possession of a thing so ill gotten should endure long? Do we thinke there is any Indian vnder the subiection of the Spaniardes, which cryeth not ten thousand times a day in his language this sentence of Aristophanes?

ὡς ἀργαλέον δούλον γινώσκω,
παραφροσύνης δαπάνη.

*Alas how hard a thing it is to serue against ones will,
a master that of wit, of sense, and reason can no kill.*

Aristophanes in Pluto

Aristotle sayth, that a countrie is possessed and helde by a Tyrant, in the same manner that mens bodies are with an agew. How many sighes, and groanes do we thinke that the poore Americans, (being by such a feruent feuer so long tormented) cast foorth, which mount vp to the eares of him that holdeth the sterne, of the matters of this world? Do we thinke that the hande of God is shortned, that hee can not when he sees time, execute the threatnings which he hath vttered by the mouth of his Prophet against these murderers, robbers, and wastes? Where is that state in the world, be it neuer so flourishing, that can be exempted from decay and utter ouerthrowe? What wisdom, what counsell, what force is it that can warrant it out of the hande of the almightie and cuerliuing God? Mischiefe runneth vp and downe (saith Euripides) from house to house, in most rich and exquisite wordes.

Arist. Metaphysic
lib. 1. ca. 13.

Esay. 33.

Euripides
in Elæara.

*Mischiefe from house to house doth go,
As winde which passeth to and fro.*

The same with greater reason may be sayde of Monarchies, in which we may see from day to day the accomplishment of this threatning which is so wisely set downe by *Hesiodus* speaking of *Iupiter*.

Hesiod.
oper. & di-
ebus.

*He soone puls downe the mighty ones,
and poore from dust doth rayse:
He soone correctes the crooked ones,
and rootes out wicked waies.*

Vitellius
lib. 4.

Theox. 129

Caius li. 20
& vltimo.
D. de Nox-
al. Action.

Genesis. 20

Which is then scene especially, when the finnes as well of the Prince, as of the people, enforce God to breake his patience. The Mathematicians holde that the augmentation of the greatnesse of thinges maketh them seeme to approach neere vnto our sight, though in verie truth they approach not at all. But with the finnes of men it fareth much otherwise, which being heaped one on the other, doo approach and present themselues before the sight of the liuing God, who oftentimes punisheth the people in the Prince, and the Prince in the people; whose iustice is not ruled by the same square that mens iudgements are directed: in the which (according to the Lawyers) *Noxa caput sequitur*, that is, *Penaltrie pursueth the principall*. Whereof we haue a manifest and notable example in *Abimelech*, the king of *Gerar*, who excusing himselfe vnto *Abraham*, vseth these wordes, *What haue I done vnto thee? and wherein haue I offended thee,*
that

that thou hast brought on me, and on my kingdom this great sinne?
 Nowe if *Abimelech* do call adulterie a great sinne, how shall
 we call that which we can not better describe, then by the
 conformitie thereof vnto that example set downe by *Sue-*
tonius in the life of *Claudius*, in the xxvi. chapter of his booke.
 But if this speech be thought by any to be ouer darke, I re-
 ferre him to that which the Lawyer *Paulus* hath written lib.
 39. vnder the title, *Si quis D. de ritu nuptiarum*, and hee shall
 plainly vnderstande my meaning. But this is not all, for
 there are yet in this behalfe, other sortes of wickednesse, as
 much or more abhominable then the other, which they
 thinke to keepe secret, as if the saying of the Poet *Musens*
 had not place as well in this age as in the other.

Suetonius,

*Oft times we heare that sounded openly,
 Which we thought had beene done full secretly.*

Now then, if we thinke Gods iustice to be immutable, let
 vs knowe and be well assured that he will visite such and so
 execrable wickednesse (which may with more honestie then
 ease be concealed) and will at last (how long soeuer he fore-
 slowe it) make the Spaniards and their king to feelee his ven-
 geance.

*A cruell Tyrant on whose wretched head,
 The wrath of God to fall is readie spread.*

To be short, the time will come ere long, and will not ta-
 rie, that this wicked Nation which for these hundred yeares,
 hath made a trade of pilling and praying on others, shall be
 exposed for a pray vnto other Nations. The time (I say)
 draweth neere, when eyther the Indians, or else the king of
 Spaine his Lieutenants themselues, shall reuolt from him,
 and

and become executors of God his wrath, against the couetousnesse, and crueltie of their owne Nation.

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Now remaineth to be considered the third and last point of this discourse, that is to wit, whether of these two Nations being become our enemy, hath most meanes to annoy vs. This point may well be cleared by that which hath bene discoursed in the former, touching the meanes which either of those Nations hath to succour vs withall. Yet so it is notwithstanding, that if the Englishmen should happen to set foote in France, and especially in *Guyenne*, it would be as hard for vs to stay a great part of the Nobilitie and Gentlemen from taking their part, as to burie the remembrance of the good turnes and pleasures, which their houses haue receiued heretofore at the handes of the kings of Englande, especially considering that the Charters of the greatest houses of *Guyen*, are as many testimonies, or rather as many authentickall recordes of the obligation wherein they are bound to the memorie of the kings of England: moreouer, falling at ods with the English, euerie one knoweth that they haue good ditches, large and deepe, such as can not be drayned.

On the contrarie part, according to the opinion of that great Captaine the Admirall *Chastillon*, it were no lesse easie then expedient for vs to ouercome the Spaniards, if we warred vpon them as we ought, that is to say, if cutting off the riuer at the spring head, we would set vpon them at home in their owne countrie of Spaine, which is a land very easie to be entred into, being both vnfurnished off strong townes, & which cannot but hardly be succoured frō Germanie, whereas on the contrarie part, our armies should be backed by the countries of *Languedocke*, and *Gascoyne*, both of the well stored with victuals, and men of warre, so that in France that quarter may wel be called at this day the storehouse of Mars.

If I should adde nothing else, yet notwithstanding the causes heretofore set downe being well considered, do suffi-

hinc

ciently

ciently conclude of themselves, that to preferre, or to match in equalitie the allyance of Spaine, to that of England, were openly to show our selues vnnaturall, and vnkinde to our allies. It were (I say) to shew our selues blockish, and vnable to discerne the nature that matcheth iumpe with ours, from that which is cleane contrarie vnto ours; and manifestly to oppose our selues against the benefite, and welfare of our countrie.

The Spaniardes (as we haue sayde) are couetous, craftie, proud, and rauinous: Shall we change then our franke liberalitie into a slauish, and insatiable couetousnesse? shall we change the generositie of the Lyon, into the subtiltie of the Foxe? shall we become of gentle, and courteous; arrogant, and disdainefull? and of milde and meeke, cruell and rauinous? shall we so bereaue our selues of those vertues which haue gotten vs reputation through out the whole world, as that there shall remaine no more vnto vs of Frenchmen, but euen the bare name? And yet if we neerely consider the naturall disposition of the Spaniarde, that miserable exchange (whereof I now spake) will be euermore noted, as an euident and sure testimonie of our ouer great facilitie in making so great account of that Nation, who (resembling Iuie) hath alwaies made those to feeble the most pernicious effects of her most hurtfull malice, which haue beene most straightly allied vnto her.

Now for as much as prayer is accounted the duetie of an honest man towards his countrie; I pray to God O France, that thy preservation & increase, may be a continuall mirror of his goodnesse & wisdom, which shineth in the gouernment of great estates and kingdomes. And that to the same end, he vouchsafe to open thy eyes, that thou maiest discern that poyson mixt with hony, by the which they go about to worke thy ruine, and the vtter ouerthrowe of thy honour and greatnesse.

FINIS.